

My knowledge and friendship with the late departed Les Aspin began when I was Secretary of the Navy. He was off frequently as a severe critic of the Department of Defense during that period of time.

And I remember so well Melvin Laird was then Secretary of Defense and had a great respect and friendship for Les, but Les was a strong critic in those days. Now in hindsight, maybe some of his criticism was well-taken.

I yield the floor.

BUDGET RESOLUTION SUPPORT

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I rise today to offer my strong support for the Senate budget resolution proposed and brought forward by Chairman DOMENICI.

Let me first start by congratulating the chairman for the absolutely tremendous job he has done. I am sure that there is not a Member of this body who would write the budget the identical way that the committee has written. I do not suppose the chairman would, either. I think he has done a great job. I want to congratulate him.

This is a historic moment. It is a moment where we will really determine whether this Congress has the courage, has the wisdom, to do what we all know we have to do.

Let me also congratulate my friend from Ohio, JOHN KASICH, chairman of the Budget Committee in the House of Representatives. He has done a great job, as well. For both of them and for the Senate this is a historic moment.

What I would like to talk about this evening, Mr. President, is the issue of this budget and how this budget that we will be voting on tomorrow, affects young people, affects children.

The truth is that we simply have to change the direction of this country. We have to face reality. We have to face the fact that America has a fundamental choice between two different futures: A future of responsibility and fiscal sanity on the one hand; or a future of economic catastrophe.

Catastrophe is a pretty harsh word, Mr. President, but I think it is accurate. When we fail to balance the budget for 26 consecutive years, when we add to the national debt until we are paying more in interest than we are paying for national defense, and when we have a debt that is nearly \$5 trillion—\$5 trillion—and no end in sight, what we have is a catastrophe. A catastrophe in the making. No more, nor less.

Mr. President, what we are really talking about is not dollars and cents. What we are talking about is our children and the quality of their lives. The sad fact is, Mr. President, that today to many of our children, America is a very tough place to grow up in.

I have previously come to the Senate floor and discussed the issue of our children. What I think is the biggest crisis facing this country is what is happening to our young people. Many

of our young children are growing up in good conditions, but too many of them live in an environment that makes it very, very difficult for them, very problematic, as to whether they can succeed.

I have talked about this. I talked about the fact that this is the first generation in our history whose life expectancy is no greater than their parents because of deaths from auto accidents, deaths because of drugs, homicides.

A generation where young children are being born, one-third of all children being born today to parents who are not married; two-thirds of the children born in our inner cities are born to parents who are not married.

Probably, Mr. President, the most disheartening fact of all, is probably something that was encountered last year by the Presiding Officer as he traveled through the State of Missouri campaigning, as I found traveling the State of Ohio, and that is that people today do not believe their children will have a better life than they had. They do not believe the standard of living for their children will be even as good as they had. That to me is the most disheartening fact of all.

What do we do? Government has a role. I introduced my crime bill last week. I talked about the fact I was targeting money for more cities and for police officers to go in there, because too many of our young people live in an unsafe environment.

I will continue to talk about that in the months ahead. It is not just Government. We all have a responsibility. Communities have a responsibility. There are things Government can do and things that Government cannot do.

What I want to talk about specifically tonight is one thing that sometimes we forget does impact on children. That is the huge spending, the huge national debt, and the huge tax burden that we are placing on this generation of parents and on the next generation of our children when they grow up.

We are dealing, Mr. President, with a sad fact that the U.S. Congress makes the situation worse for our children by throwing away so many of America's resources in an utterly irresponsible manner. To pay for Congress' reckless spending, the Federal Government has to take far too much money from the parents of these children.

When my parents were growing up in the 1930's, their families had to work on an average until March 8 of every year to pay for Congress' spending. By the time I was growing up, and my wife Fran was growing up in the 1960's, a typical family had to work until April 16 to pay the taxes. Today, 1995, American families have to work until May 6 to pay their taxes. That is money that is stolen from families, stolen from children.

Sometimes it feels like America's parents are in a tug of war with the Federal Government for the resources

they need to raise their children. Frankly, Mr. President, I am sure they feel on many days that the Government is winning.

This budget begins the process of restoring the resources to the parents. It is only a beginning, but it is a necessary beginning. We ask parents today to do a lot.

It is time for this Congress and this Government to stop hindering their efforts and to start helping. I think we sometimes forget, Mr. President, the tremendous burden the taxes place on the American family today and how many of the decisions of that family are made, forced to be made, because of that burden. Decisions about whether the mother, the father, both work; whether one spouse holds down two jobs or three jobs. All these things are impacted by the Federal tax burden. The Government impacts these families and puts a tremendous burden on these families.

Mr. President, I have talked about the fact that for some children it is not easy being a kid in America today. We have a lot of problems. Yet we continue to let the Federal Government deprive young parents of the resources they need.

Mr. President, if we do not act now and pass this budget resolution, it will get a lot tougher to change things in the future. If we keep spending at this rate, by the year 2012, 17 years from today, there will be nothing—nothing—left in the budget for discretionary spending on our domestic needs. Zero. Every last cent in the Federal budget will go to entitlements and interest payments. Think of that: Every cent will go to entitlements and interest payments.

Mr. President, those interest payments did not go to our children. They do not go to the kids. I do not think it is a surprise or a secret to also indicate to this body that, frankly, neither does most of the entitlement spending, either.

Mr. President, just a year before that year 2012, our grandson, Albert, will graduate from high school. In that year, our daughter, Anna, if things work out, will be in her first year of college. If we do not act today, Albert and Anna's generation will pay a severe human cost.

Between today and the year 2025, the Federal debt per person will continue to rise year after year after year. Today the debt on each person is approximately \$18,500.

In the year 2025, it is going to be more than \$60,000 for every single man, woman, and child in America.

Look at the modest sacrifices this budget resolution proposes, so that we can balance the budget. Then look at the incredible sacrifices that our children will have to make if we do not.

In this budget, we slow the rate of increase of fast-growing programs.

The alternative is a \$60,000 debt burden for every person in America.

It is a clear choice, Mr. President. The longer we delay, the more it is

going to hurt. I say, let our day of reckoning be now, before it really hurts.

Many of the Senators speaking here on the Senate floor have focused on the pain that is contained in this budget resolution. But here are the facts.

We are not going to touch Social Security.

We are going to let Medicare funding increase, by an average of 7 percent. Each year, over the next 7 years. Let us look at children's programs.

Chapter 1. No cut.

Head Start. No cut.

Special education. Spending actually increases.

Women, Infants, and Children. Spending goes up.

School breakfast. Spending goes up.

School lunches. Spending goes up.

Over the next 7 years, we propose spending \$815 billion on the following major means-tested programs affecting child welfare: Food Stamps. Earned income tax credit. AFDC and child care. Supplemental security income. Child nutrition.

For many reasons, this is a child-oriented budget.

This budget is designed to make tough choices now, so that our children will not have to face a lot tougher set of choices tomorrow.

Contrary to a lot of the rhetoric, we are not taking a meat-ax to this budget. What we have here is a scalpel.

America's fiscal policy today is on a glide path toward total collapse. I think a better way of saying it is we are on a glidepath to crash the plane. Anyone who looks at this budget and complains about deep cuts is on a collision course with reality.

If you think there are deep cuts in this budget—wait till you see the cuts that are going to be necessary, a few short years from now, if we do not pass this budget.

On the Senate floor, this budget resolution has been called a lump of coal for America's children. To call that absurd would be an understatement.

The alternative to this sensible, child-oriented budget is the bankruptcy budget that's already scheduled for the year 2012. That bankruptcy budget will become a reality for our children unless we act now.

To leave our children flat busted broke, less than two decades from today, would be a cruel act of child abuse.

Fortunately, the American people gave us a clear mandate last November. It was a mandate for change. When the debt is nearly \$5 trillion, and bankruptcy is less than 20 years away, it is time to change course; to choose the future over the past; to do something that will earn the gratitude of the next generation of Americans.

Mr. President, the future of our children depends on the choices we make in this budget. Speaking for the people of Ohio, I think we are ready to do what is right.

Let us rescue our children's future. The first step is to pass this courageous budget resolution.

This is a moment of history. Each one of us in our daily lives, in our public lives, does things. We do things that we think are important. Frankly, I do not know there is anything we as individuals in our public life, or we collectively in the U.S. Senate, can do that will do more to change the direction of this country to have a positive impact on our children and their children, than to pass this budget.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I wish to compliment our distinguished colleague. It was well delivered, the set of comments. Indeed, I felt he explained with great clarity precisely what it is, namely the objective on this side in trying to proceed to reach a balanced budget.

I would like to address another aspect of this budgetary problem. Today, under the leadership of the chairman of the Armed Services Committee and Senator McCain, we had a debate regarding the need for additional funding in this resolution for our national defense. I participated in that, as did every single Republican on the Armed Services Committee. I am pleased to say the distinguished ranking member of the Armed Services Committee, the Senator from Georgia, Mr. NUNN, likewise participated and indeed supported the amendment. The amendment was also coauthored by the Senator from Texas, [Mrs. HUTCHISON].

I would like to expand on some of the points that we made during the course of the debate today. I commend particularly the Senator from New Mexico, Senator DOMENICI, for his courageous proposal to balance this budget in 2002, but I regret that Senator DOMENICI was not able to put in that budget for the Senate, a level of funding which more closely matched that arrived at by the House of Representatives.

Mr. President, I am concerned about the security of our Nation as is every Member of the U.S. Senate. We face a world that has dramatically changed in the period that I have been privileged to serve here in the U.S. Senate. During the period where we had the cold war with the Soviet Union, we were able to make calculations with considerable precision as to the risk this Nation faced from communism led by the Soviet Union and its satellite Warsaw Pact nations, and develop in the course of time the exact weaponry that we believed was necessary to deter that risk. And, together with our allies in NATO, we did achieve the goal of maintaining peace in the European Continent in that period at the close of World War II until today. But with the demise of the Soviet Union, the risk became more difficult to calculate, and indeed, the range of weapons that this Nation needs and the level of the Armed Forces required to put in place the deterrent is far more complicated.

We now have experienced 10 consecutive years of lowering defense numbers.

I repeat that—10 consecutive years. And we are now faced with a budget resolution that would make it 11 consecutive years.

As we speak here tonight, our Armed Forces are preparing, in a sense on standby, for the possibility of a mission quite different than that we envisioned during the days of the cold war, but no less inherent the risk of the men and women in the Armed Forces who may be called on to perform this mission. And that is the mission to assist the United Nations and NATO in withdrawal of the forces from that geographic area once known as Yugoslavia, namely the UNPROFOR forces.

I happen to be of the opinion that those forces have performed a successful mission. It is true that combat still rages, tragic killings, particularly in Sarajevo still go on. But had it not been for the presence of the UNPROFOR ground forces—and I wish to include, Mr. President, the very valuable and essential contribution of the U.S. forces in the air, protective role, and the sea role—which closed the ports going into the Pelagruz.

This past Friday, for an example, an article appeared in the Virginia Pilot. That article was entitled "Naval Reserve Jets Activated for Duty in Bosnia Combat." That should really have read, "activated for standby duty". But, nevertheless, they were activated. May I read just a paragraph or two?

For the first time since the Vietnam War a squadron of Naval Reserve warplanes is being activated and sent to the Mediterranean to join military operations over Bosnia. The deployment is part of the Pentagon's plan to rely more on the select Reserves during the military's downsizing.

That is a decade of downsizing that I addressed earlier.

This particular squadron is one I am familiar with, given they are in my State, and operate EA-6P's, which have a critical role in the suppression of what we call ground-to-air threats. They are few and far between, these aircraft in our inventory today. When a special mission like this occurs, we have to call on the Reserves and the Guard. I certainly wish to commend the role of the Reserves and the Guard in many operations in that conflict.

For example, I made two trips down into Sarajevo, and each time the transportation was provided by C-130's from Zagreb, Croatia, into Sarajevo and Air Guard units operated those aircraft. The crews were Air Guardsmen who had volunteered to come back on a period of active duty, some 6 months, some 12 months, and fly those dangerous missions. Indeed, those missions were dangerous. On my first trip in, regrettably, the aircraft right behind us—and they were staggered about every 30 to 40 minutes to an hour. They were staggered. The aircraft behind us was shot down with the loss of life. That is the type of risk that the Guard and Reserve units have taken.

Whether or not you believe that we should put U.S. forces at risk to carry out this ground mission, namely to help extract UNPROFOR, if the decision is made—and as yet it has not been made by the United Nations nor NATO—I am certain that the Members of the U.S. Senate will want to support the President, and provide that aid that is necessary to perform the extraction of those troops from the ground areas.

I am also certain that every Senator in this Chamber would support funding to ensure that our forces are trained and equipped to facilitate that extraction. That is the type of thing we are talking about here.

Last year we had to provide a supplemental. There is no way the President nor the Secretary of Defense can anticipate the contingency operations and the level of funding associated with those operations. That is why we must fully fund the basic budget of the Department of Defense and rely less and less on the supplemental type of funding.

We learned in Operation Desert Storm that well-trained troops equipped with modern weapons and equipment suffer fewer casualties if they are properly trained, properly equipped, and properly supported logistically. That is what we are talking about in seeking this added funding.

I regret that the Senate did not adopt that amendment today, and somehow we will have to revisit this issue and do the very best we can to make sure that the men and women of the Armed Forces today are as equipped, trained, and otherwise supplied as we have done historically throughout these many years since World War II for our forces who volunteer, All Volunteer Forces.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mrs. HUTCHISON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SANTORUM). The Senator from Texas.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I want to commend the Senator from Virginia. I agree with him wholeheartedly. I think when we are here on the floor debating some of the toughest decisions that we are ever going to make in our lifetime, that these things, like the defense budget that lost today on the floor, will be coming back. We will be able to continue to debate the role of defense, and I think when we finish this bill that we will see a little shifting of the priorities towards stronger national defense for just the reasons that the Senator from Virginia states, that we have things coming up that were unforeseen that are not put in the budget, like the need for American troops to help with the U.N. evacuation of Bosnia, which seems to be a possibility on the horizon.

But the point is that these things are going to happen, and we are going to have to budget in a way that allows for those eventualities and those emergencies.

So, I think the point here is that we are here tonight talking about some of the toughest decisions that we are ever going to make. We are trying to do the responsible thing.

I appreciate the Senator from Virginia and his leadership in the national defense area. I appreciate his coming out tonight to talk about those priorities.

So, I thank the Senator.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, if I could ask the Senator from Texas to yield just for a moment.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. I am happy to yield.

Mr. WARNER. We are fortunate that we have the services of the Senator from Texas on the Armed Services Committee. She was one of the three sponsors of the amendment today to try to adjust this funding upward. As we talked, she did so because of the briefings we had before the Armed Services Committee. Indeed, the Presiding Officer this evening is a member of the Armed Services Committee, the Senator from Pennsylvania. We have been briefed on the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, an ever-increasing threat, the proliferation of short-range ballistic missiles.

We have also been advised by General Clapper, of the Defense Intelligence Agency, that there are no less than 60 geographic areas in the world today which he considers—repeat, which he considers—could erupt into the type of combat which might require the necessity for the intervention of our allies, or, indeed, possibly the United States.

So I thank the Senator from Texas for joining this debate tonight, and particularly commend her for her leadership today on an amendment to try to restore some of the funding.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. I thank the Senator from Virginia. I am very pleased to have him in support.

I want to yield the floor to the Senator from the State of Washington because I know he has been very active in the budget debate trying to save the Medicare system for the people of this country.

That is what we are doing. That is what we have been doing this week and what we are going to be doing in the next few days. We are going to be doing the things that are necessary to save the Medicare system so that when our future generations need this care, it will be there because we have done the responsible thing this week in the Senate.

So I am happy to yield to the Senator from Washington.

Mr. GORTON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

A MOST CONSEQUENTIAL VOTE

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, this Senate is now less than 24 hours from one of the most consequential votes it has taken literally in decades. Sometime late tomorrow, it will have the

opportunity for the first time in more than 25 years to vote for a budget resolution which will very clearly and very decisively put this country on a path to a balanced budget. Already, we have seen the positive impact of the very fact that this debate has begun. We have seen it in an increase once again in the value of the dollar, a value that collapsed on the occasion of the failure of the balanced budget amendment. We have seen it in lower interest rates, lower interest rates that mean that more and more Americans now can purchase the home of their dreams, can borrow money to begin or to expand a small business, can begin those businesses which will provide opportunities for others.

This has taken place just because for the first time the people of the United States believe that this new Congress, the House and the Senate, are serious about terminating a state of affairs in which each year we add \$200, \$250, and \$300 billion to the burdens imposed upon our children and grandchildren for spending for programs we are unwilling to pay for.

And yet, in spite of the lip service given by almost all Members to the abstract desirability of a balanced budget, resistance will continue in a rear guard action, in close votes on the floor of this body, from those who are absolutely dedicated to the status quo, who feel that while maybe it might be a good idea someday to have a balanced budget, not, O Lord, in our time, not with our votes. Or, if it is desirable to do it now, always in a different way than that proposed by what I confidently expect to be a majority of this body tomorrow evening.

Now, Mr. President, I do not think it appropriate for us to disguise the fact that there will be programs reduced, cut, the growth slowed in programs that provide desirable dollars for a wide range of interest groups in this country, and they will let their views be heard. They are represented eloquently by Members of this body who can see the trees or perhaps the leaves on the trees but not the forest itself, for whom a balanced budget, fiscal responsibility, the exercise of a moral responsibility to our children and grandchildren not further to subject them to debt is less important than a particular group or a particular program.

And so this contest which began at the beginning of this Congress and will reach one of its climactic votes tomorrow is a contrast between those who believe in, who speak for, who demand a different and more responsible direction for this country and those who, like the President of the United States, simply believe that the status quo is perfectly all right. Their view is the single worst thing we could possibly do would be to return a single dollar now being taken in the form of taxes from any group in the American people to the pockets of those American people even if that dollar came from a fiscal dividend resulting from a balanced